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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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787 intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the
825 reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúnit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, "to start work") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butit*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

776 There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful
753 for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Barôyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

784 Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña*[18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

824 An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must
787 try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful. 243 824

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *núlin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát úlag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómān* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát úlag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómān* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómān*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirúy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsár* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirúy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirúy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirúy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid 243 534 824

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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. 243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made 784 *kóman*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future 243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, 825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the 787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

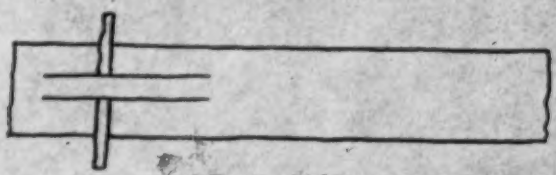

FIG. 3. *Pirây*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well- 762 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing 824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitúl* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ñílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kóman*.

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243 *gaidn dadyó maggiyón ki sirdt* (I plant you so that you shoot up,
722 you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [20] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*, [1] the woman, owner of the
784 field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*dilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paxanónay*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kómān* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is
462 finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass
776 that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsilsil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappil*, and this is much more thorough than *magsilsil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwó* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibiritān*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakókaur* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukúr* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dág*

[20] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting — Analyst]

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *zapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawđyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasińan*, differing from the *kawđyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *bđyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowít*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalixān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*magbandn*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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Every day the women reap one *ikkám* (one day's harvest) and, if the sun shines, throw down (*ukáyan*) the latest addition to the *bañíbāñ* (bundles of rice piled up in the *sixāy*-hut), and spread the *battá-* (bundles) in the sun (*mamilág*; said of palay, clothes, etc.) to dry (*maxáño*; also said of Indian corn, beans, etc.; not: of clothes, etc.). Even palay that has been dried for several days, if it is found to be *nalumáy* or damp (not thoroughly dry), is brought out again and sunned, unless they prefer to dry it over the fire. But the latter process is never resorted to with paddy that has not passed through the ordinary stages of sunning, or that happens to retain more than a slight degree of moisture, and so to be wetter than what is called *nalumáy*. Whenever rain threatens, the rice is piled up again (*magdalatún*) into a *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), inside the *sixāy*-hut. The women must be careful not to sun palay that is only half matured, lest it become entirely useless (*matúmāy*): it must be reserved for roasting, which will be explained in due time. To sun palay for the first time is *mañwarwár*; after that it is called *mamilág*, even though the rice be freshly cut.

The palay is sunned, either twice a day, late in the morning and some time in the afternoon, or only in the afternoon; but all bundles must be exposed to the sun and spread open in rows, at least three times. It is absolutely taboo to count the *battá-* (bundles) while sunning them or while piling them up into a *bañíbāñ*; counting will be done later, when it will be attended to with special ceremonies.

Every day, about noon, a man (*manúxan*), usually the owner of the field, brings food to the reapers (*tumúxan*). This food has been cooked at home and wrapped up in leaves, either by himself or by somebody else. Any kind of leaves may serve the purpose, except the first time, when it is necessary to use leaves of the *lippokán*, a kind of banana, whose very small fruits have a thin greenish skin. The food always consists of cooked rice (*nabáw*) and *láda-* (residue of coconut meat from which the oil has been extracted); the addition of other viands is optional.

The *manúxan* is not allowed to cross a stream, to swim or to go to somebody else's house. If his *kómān* is at the other side of a stream from his house, he has to pass the night in the *sixāy*, and to cook the food as best he can, the hearth of the hut not being fitted out for cooking. The same man must be *manúxan* from the first to the last day of the harvest.

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243 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sízăy*, everybody
264 partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed
782 every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sízăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapûg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bañíbāñ*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuwámo ilāy paglaxibannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patucáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóñ*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadañgán*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers,
784 I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarañásañ*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *balâwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kaduduwă*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipñúd*).

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It is forbidden to whistle (*magpapannút*), whether in the *kóman* or in the *sízăy*, lest Pilay, the protector of the rice, run away.

Nobody is allowed to blow any kind of taro flower (*bariri*), lest a famine invade the district. The *bariri*, when blown upon, produces a very shrill sound.

The *patańgó-* must not be played in or around the rice field, lest the wind turn into a typhoon. The *patańgó-* is a section of bamboo, closed at one end, and cut out at the other end into a tapering tongue; one of its sides is provided with a small hole. It is played by striking its tongue either against one's left hand or against the upper end of a hatchet held in one's left hand, while pressing the thumb of one's right hand intermittently over the hole at its side. The tunefulness of the sound it produces depends on the length of its tongue.

Forging (*magbattál*) is prohibited in the village until all the inhabitants have completed the reaping of their fields.

People are not allowed to winnow (*magsáp*; *asáp*: chaff of rice) rice, although they are permitted to pound it. Winnowing rice at the time is supposed to cause typhoons. In this instance we have a definite proof of the fact that not all taboos remain in force as long as the harvest lasts; indeed, after reaping has been progressing for some time, the Isneg roast immature rice, which they have to pound and winnow before they are able to eat it.

No outsider is permitted to enter a field where reapers are at work. This applies very particularly to all who are not Isneg.

Nobody is allowed to enter the house of the owner of such a field, the members of the household alone excepted.

No outsider is permitted to enter the *balára* (place near the house where rice is pounded), and of the owners only those that are not actually binding palay into bundles. On the other hand, it is absolutely required to have a *balára* in readiness, before the harvest begins; should this be overlooked, the spirits will be angry and they may even resort to killing.

In some sections of Apayaw, it is forbidden to *marappó-* (to eat in another man's house) in the house of anybody who owns another *bańíbăń* (palay piled up in the *sízăy*). If both persons own the same *bańíbăn*, they are allowed to eat in each other's house.

No fire may be taken from the hearth, to be given to somebody outside of the house.

Nobody is allowed to *magtósa*, to draw water by holding a receptacle under a waterfall (*barańóboń*) and allowing the water to drop into it.

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243 784 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *addúg* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangla, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *anîboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 784 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *sízăy*. Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adâs*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madamméli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 195 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely forbidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.[1] In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańán*	*magdanág* or *mananág* [57]
To be hungry:	*mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye:	*masoltâ-* (by reeds, etc.)	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natáy*	*marísam* [58]
Rain:	*udán*	*daródo*

[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1 [at harvest time -- Analyst]

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247 urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aŕtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *undt* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambá*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

262 764 Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múŕaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúŕaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúŕaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

249 When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxundt*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxundt*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

482 All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *undt* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

245 Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baldyań* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráńan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binańá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud or laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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To nönná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawaxán ńam ăwán piám maiyúg kid apăyaw,/ ńam ăy ránna la uoăd da iyúg ga nillód./ Nasińán daťó tóläy ńluxánda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálă-./ Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxánna séna iddán kadaťó tóläy séda imúla./ Tówin ya naggăyatán ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaandáni dăyá kusá to nańalá-da kitó nagdallísna kitó nönná ńa alxáw séno atán ya mańallód ônó mańixăd mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwăgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxăt, buxátan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarăy* or *magpaarăy*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arăy*) that are in their first stage, namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abág séno nasulít a bunután

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is
strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said
to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes
to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company
with several old women. They all stop about one hun-
dred yards from the house of the youth. There they
are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bear-
ing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The
youth's mother then requests the girl from her pa-
rents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to
the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the
parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00
per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con-
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the
morning final payments of the dowry are made and
distributed. Then the young couple are considered to
be properly married, but still controlled by their pa-
rents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law
will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it,
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [442]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so
that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If
241 you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *cañao* in his memory. 764

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas,* who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.